

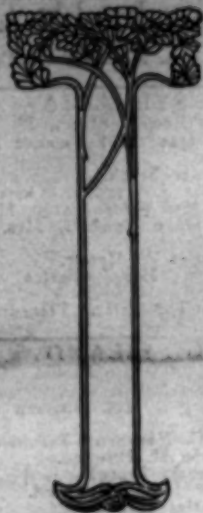
The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Published Monthly by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

37 West 39th Street, New York City

Vol. 8
No. 1



POST-ELECTION NUMBER

"SUFFRAGE WILL BE FORCED UPON
THE MAJORITY AGAINST
THEIR WILL"

LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE
CAMPAIGN

WHAT THE SUFFRAGE DEFEAT
MEANS

"YOU CANNOT FOOL ALL THE
PEOPLE ALL THE TIME"

WOMAN SUFFRAGE FROM A MAN'S
VIEW-POINT

"A MISFORTUNE FOR THE RACE"

AN EXAMPLE OF PRACTICAL
POLITICS

HOW THE CAMPAIGN WAS
CARRIED TO SUCCESS

NOVEMBER
1915



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"SUFFRAGE WILL NOW BE FORCED UPON THE MAJORITY AGAINST THEIR WILL"

New York men have lost—lost their chance to give justice to women. They will not have another. Woman suffrage will now be forced on them by the passage of the Federal Amendment in Congress and ratified by the New York State Legislature.

Suffrage and "States Rights"
The creation of the right is National, its regulation, local.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton

Now for the quickest way!
The "Susan B. Anthony" Amendment to the United States Constitution.

"The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."

CONGRESSIONAL UNION
SUFFRAGE MEETING.

Thursday Nov. 11th 3 P.M.
15 East 41st St.

Discussion of the "Susan B. Anthony" Amendment.

SPEAKERS—Mrs. Blatch, Mr. George Creel, Prof. Charles A. Beard.

COME AND BRING YOUR FRIENDS

Suffragist

SUFFRAGISTS, failing to convince the great majority of the men and women of the wisdom of granting the ballot to women, have instituted a campaign which savors of militancy.

Immediately after the overwhelming defeat of suffrage in the four great Eastern States of New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, the Congressional Union for Women Suffrage held a public meeting in which the Suffragists loudly applauded a speaker when he declared in favor of "mutilating" the men opposed to suffrage.

Just previously the placards shown in the picture were placed in the window of the Woman's Political Union on Fifth Avenue, New York, forecasting the new policy.

Particular attention is directed to that placard which reads: "New York men have lost—lost their chance to give justice to women. They will not have another. Woman suffrage will now be forced on them by the passage of the Federal amendment in Congress and ratified by the New York State legislature."

This is a splendid example of democracy as practised by the Suffragist leaders. "Woman suffrage will now be forced upon" the majority against their will.

"Now for the quickest way!" indicates the depths of despair into which the election expressing the will of the people has plunged the Suffragists. Only in desperation would leaders of a movement preaching democracy descend to a practise which virtually denies, flouts and repudiates the basic principle of democracy.

The following quotation from a suffrage newspaper indicates the present attitude of suffrage leaders as revealed at their meeting on November 11:

(From the *New York Tribune*, November 12)

"Cut out the angel business and try a little politics."

This is the advice given by Professor Charles Beard, of Columbia University, to the Congressional Union yesterday afternoon, and judging from the applause, the Suffragists are tired of being angels.

"Give no member of Congress any peace, night or day, until they pass the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution," he went on. "When they do that their responsibility ends and they can have peace."

The gathering yesterday at the headquarters of the Union, at 11 West Forty-first Street, was a gathering of malcontents. Nothing suited anybody. Senator O'Gorman got no credit for his last minute stand for woman suffrage in New York. President Wilson got scant appreciation, either; and as for the Men's League, it was a "rope of sand," according to Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch.

"Men, get inside the political parties and make yourselves disagreeable if you really want to help suffrage," she said. "These leagues of men outside the regular political organizations, who use no political power but a tiny scrap of paper in the ballot box, are ropes of sand. Think what Senator O'Gorman could have done inside the Democratic party if he had wanted to!"

George Creel struck the same note.

"Quit this pussy-footing around," he said. "I have been campaigning for six months, and everywhere I have been told, 'Don't do anything to irritate the men.' I didn't want to irritate them. I wanted to mutilate them! You women have got to come out of the Victorian era and campaign in terms of the age you are fighting in."

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Vol. VIII

November, 1915

No. 1

The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

THE National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage will hold its annual meeting in Washington on Monday, Dec. 13th, at the Hotel Shoreham. It is expected that the three regular delegates from each of the twenty-two State Associations will attend this conference, and large representation of the members, especially from the campaign States of 1915.

The annual meeting is held for the election of officers for the ensuing year and to outline the policy to be pursued in connection with the Federal Amendment and work in the three campaign States of 1916, Iowa, South Dakota and West Virginia.

The morning meeting at 10:30 will be open to all who are interested. At 2 o'clock the meeting for the transaction of business and election of officers will be for delegates and representatives from the State organizations.

A tea will be given by the members of the District Committee at 5 o'clock. On Tuesday morning President Wilson will receive a delegation at the White House.

The Federal Amendment is to be introduced in Congress this year for the Congressional Union by Senator Sutherland, of Utah, and Representative Mondell, of Wyoming, and will be known in the future as the Sutherland-Mondell bill. It is stated by Mrs. Blatch, of the Women's Political Union, that this bill will have the support of the National Woman Suffrage Association which for the last two years has been standing behind a substitute, the Shafroth-Palmer Federal Amendment.

It is significant that next to Utah, Wyoming is the State most under the dominance of Mormon politics, and these are the States whose representatives are chosen by the Suffragists to introduce the amendment which, they threaten, "will be forced upon the States whose voters have defeated woman suffrage."

Suffragists are trying to explain their defeats in the four States. In New Jersey they say it was the liquor interests and machine politics; in Pennsylvania, the bosses which defeated them. Before the election the Empire State Campaign Committee stated that they were thoroughly organized up-state, and were concentrating their efforts on New York City. After the election, they ascribed their defeat outside of New York City to their lack of organization "up-state."

In Massachusetts and New York they try to console themselves by quoting the number of men who voted "Yes" on the amendments. The truth is that the majority of American voters exercised common sense, and the defeat of suffrage is due to the fact that the majority of American voters consider that votes for women is bad for women and bad for the State.

When will the politicians realize that the majority of women in this country do not want the vote, or are perfectly indifferent, and would not use the ballot if they had it?

When will they appreciate that by opposing woman suffrage they are really standing by the women of their States and constituencies? They have been scared by much noise and persistency. It is to be hoped that they will now get their bearings on the subject.

In New Jersey three votes were cast against woman suffrage to each two votes that were cast for it. In New Jersey and in Pennsylvania the woman suffrage amendment cannot possibly come before the voters again until 1919. Under the Constitution an amendment must pass two Legislatures with a different Senate before it can be submitted to the electorate.

The question cannot come up again in Massachusetts for two years.

In New York the matter cannot come before the voters again for at least two years and possibly four.

In all these four States where the amendment has been defeated the Suffragists have announced that they will try immediately to secure Presidential suffrage for women.

FROM post-election statements made by suffrage leaders and suffrage newspapers, it is clear that in future campaigns those seeking the vote will endeavor to concentrate upon the proposition that the franchise is something which belongs of right to women as well as men.

This line of strategy, if adopted, will mean, of course, that the Suffragists are convinced of the futility of trying to prove, in the face of the Colorado, the California and other suffrage object lessons, that the ballot in the hands of woman is a good thing for woman and a good thing for the State.

As a matter of fact, it will constitute the most complete confession of the failure of double suffrage wherever it has been tried.

The theory of natural right was not relied upon in the recent campaigns, although it was voiced by many suffrage leaders, particularly by the President of the National Woman Suffrage Association, who said in the *New York Evening Post* of February 25, 1915:

"I believe in woman suffrage whether all women vote or no women vote; whether all women vote right or all women vote wrong; whether women will love their husbands after they vote, or forsake them; whether they will neglect their children or never have any children."

According to this theory, the vote is a birthright, from the enjoyment of which no sane, law-abiding person, male or female, can properly be deprived.

If this contention is true, there can, of course, be no valid argument against woman suffrage. On the other hand, if it is not true, there can be no ground for demanding the ballot for women except the ground of expediency; and the Suffragists, having abandoned the claim of expediency as untenable, are left without a single argument in support of their "cause."

Is the suffrage a birthright?

If it is, it is in the class with life and liberty. These are natural, individual rights, and the State has no power to deprive any individual of them except for the protection of society.

If the suffrage is a birthright, the State has no more right to deprive the sane, law-abiding minor of the ballot than it has to deprive him of his life or liberty.

Yet the State does deprive the minor of the ballot. It draws an arbitrary line at 21 years of age, and says that for the best interests of all concerned no male under that age shall be entitled to cast a vote.

The Supreme Court of the United States has decided again and again against the Suffragist contention that the vote is a natural right of the individual.

"The granting of the franchise," said Chief Justice Marshall, "has always been regarded in the practice of nations as a matter of expediency and not as an inherent right."

The President of the National Woman Suffrage Association does not agree with Chief Justice Marshall. Neither does she agree with Judge Cooley, who, in his great work on "The Principles of Constitutional Law," said:

"Suffrage cannot be the right of the individual, because it does not exist for the benefit of the individual, but for the benefit of the State itself."

"The Cyclopaedia of American Government" says: "That the suffrage cannot be a natural right is obvious from the fact that no community can ever enfranchise all its citizens."

The suffrage leaders are not now in accord with these legal authorities, or with the dictates of common sense on this question of the "right" to vote. Yet there was a time when they were more reasonable.

The demand for the ballot for women was originally based upon the theory of "right," but this theory was dropped as a result of adverse Supreme Court decisions and as late as 1914 the suffrage campaign manual admitted that it was false.

The claim of the Suffragists then was that the extension of the vote to women would tend to improve government and make life better worth living for all concerned.

The present purpose, if we are correctly informed, is to abandon this claim as something that has no bearing on the question, and to return to the discarded and exploded theory of "natural right."

Is any further evidence needed of the failure of woman suffrage?

The actual election figures have not been filed with the Secretaries of State, but the approximate majorities against Suffrage are as follows: Massachusetts, 127,600; New Jersey, 56,619; New York, 182,000; Pennsylvania, 58,000.

LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE CAMPAIGN

By Lucy Jeanne Price

THE world seems to be going on in the same old way.

Somehow I had the idea that when the second of November had dawned and died and the votes on woman suffrage had been cast and counted there would be some sort of tremendous transformation in life and everything connected with it.

We have all, those of us who have been campaigning on either side of the suffrage question, been moving through a strange Alice-in-Wonderland world, with distortions of size and values, quite overwhelming, some of them, and now that we come up again into the sunlight of a normal world, finding that people still like us or dislike us for other reasons than our suffrage views, and that there are millions of things in the world to do, even more important than meeting the heckling of someone who doesn't want it met, why life seems to be a very kindly, pleasant thing after all.

All of which makes me more certain than ever that I do not want to choose politics as the road for men—or other women—to travel through life.

It is a bit difficult to tell just exactly when the truly "campaign days" began. We have been working with considerable steadiness for at least two years. But I suppose the farther shore of the seething sea of real campaigning might be drawn at that point where our days were transformed into one of those kaleidoscopes one looks into at queer jumbled designs falling into being so rapidly that one can't see where they come from; at the time when we began to look at the little frowning lines which persisted in coming between our eyes and wondered how much longer our dispositions would last.

And then maybe in the rush of it all, something would slip within our minds somewhere and we would see things normally again, and then they were so funny.

Some of these slips came at fortunate times.

For instance, when I debated one night before a church club of men, and my opponent in the time allotted for questions arose and asked me—in that peculiar acrid sweetness of tone I have become accustomed to, if it weren't true that I used to be secretary to a liquor lobbyist. The first effect of this upon me was a sense of helplessness and futility. "Oh, what's the use of it all?" I cried in my heart. "Why should I subject myself to such personalities and hostilities and untruths for this cause or any other?" And although I answered as politely as I could, that I didn't even know who were liquor lobbyists anywhere, and had never been secretary to anyone in my life, and conscientiously tried to make the audience see how this very sort of thing was an argument against woman suffrage, still all that I wanted to do was to run away and let the cause go hang.

And then in the turbulence which followed just before the meeting was brought to a close, the chairman insisting that authority for such statements must be given, and the embarrassed clergyman apologetically generally to people, and my opponent trying to explain that she did it only as a kindness to me, with the whole debate forgotten in the maelstrom, I thought of the never failing description of parties that I used to read in a country paper, always ending, "And a lovely time was had by all," and my mind slipped back and it was all just funny and I didn't mind a bit.

There is one particular line we can draw, I believe, to mark pretty definitely the beginning of the real campaign days. That is the point when the Suffrage Association of New York State said, "We will not meet the Antis in debate any more."

We never did learn exactly why this was. Several reasons were given. One was published saying, "We will not debate with women because the issue is not between them and us. It is between us and the voters." Of course on this basis the Lincoln-Douglas debates were entirely out of order. The issue was between each of them and the voters. And similarly with all other debates I know of. And the prosecuting attorney should always insist on arguing with the jury rather than with the attorney for the defense. Another reason was "It gives a false impression." What that impression was we were never told. Presumably, however, it was not favorable to the suffrage side. And the final reason given publicly, was, I believe, "The Antis have an unfair advantage. They can flatter the men by telling them that they trust them and are willing to leave the management of their governmental affairs in their masculine hands." Now the latter part of that may be true. Men are sometimes susceptible to approving remarks, I have noticed. But where the unfairness? The most obvious and indisputable thing about the whole anti-suffrage movement is that we do trust the men and ARE willing to leave the management of our governmental affairs in their hands. Even our opponents must admit that.

And then one day, an officer of the Suffrage Association arose in a debate held after these announcements had been made but arranged before, and declared, "This is the last time I shall appear in such a debate. We consider it very unbecoming in a great organization like ours, carrying on a dignified campaign to meet the *professional* anti-suffrage speakers in debate."

No italics could do justice to the scorn in that word "professional."

So perhaps that was it. Perhaps the women of leisure in the suffrage organization who were doing a part of its speaking (just as many of our speakers are unpaid) so disliked the occasional necessity of having to associate on apparent terms of equality with women who accept a pay-check that they issued an order to include all speakers, paid and unpaid alike. I do not know. Anyway this attitude was very confusing to those of us who had so long heard suffrage doctrine anent the desirability of all women being self-supporting.

The rules were relaxed several times during the latter days of the campaign, when some men's organization insisted hard enough upon a debate, but for the most part our opponents held to their point. We were shut out from many clubs because after the meetings were arranged for a hearing of both sides the Suffragists refused to debate. All of which seemed most unfortunate in a campaign avowedly waged for education and enlightenment.

And so for the most part "presentations" of each side took the place of debates. Do you know the difference between a "presentation" and a "debate," from the standpoint of those who insist on presentations instead of debates? A debate, of course, is a discussion of a question in which each side has an opportunity to present his arguments and answer the arguments of his opponent. Nothing very awful sounding about that, is there? Especially when the Suffragists practically always opened and closed each debate.

But a "presentation" apparently is a discussion of a question where you have an opportunity to answer your opponent's arguments, but she does not have an opportunity to answer yours. It's quite simple, isn't it, both as to nature and reason for preference?

THE WOMAN'S PROTEST

And so, almost every time that we went to "present each side," we found the affirmative side insisting on speaking second and in EVERY such case that I experienced or heard about, the suffrage speaker answered our arguments in her presentation. And this in spite of the fact that we were the ones who were always willing to meet the subject in a fair and square debate, and they the ones who refused. Of course such answering was entirely out of order in a presentation.

There were times when this occurred when the only way in which we could refrain from being absolutely despairing over the whole thing was to remember that after all audiences are composed of human beings with human intelligences. One such occasion was when a Suffragist from Denver, in replying to one of our speakers at a county fair, denounced Miss Ida Tarbell as being "known everywhere as the greatest defender that John D. Rockefeller ever had." Even the Suffragists in the audience must have had some sense of humor! I am certain it would have amused Mr. Rockefeller.

I know of one Suffragist who did have a sense of humor and it almost prevented him from maintaining the sobriety due from him as chairman of one debate.

In the intermission in the debate for the taking of the collection, the chairman and I were having a friendly little conversation—he is a liberal-minded man, and didn't object to the fact that I was on a salary—and in the course of it he said, "You know you Antis are really unfair when you say that the Suffragists claim one million women signed for suffrage. You know they don't say that. Every one knows it isn't so and every one knows the Suffragists don't say it is. They say that according to their estimates one million women are with them."

I didn't have time to answer before the debate began again by the Suffragist speaker rising and crying in ringing tones, "One million women have signed their names on one million little yellow slips which we have in our headquarters."

In case every one doesn't know the real story of those million women, this is it, as told us at the Suffrage headquarters two days before election: The New York *World* took a straw vote of woman's views on the question. Fifteen per cent. of those addressed answered. The proportion of that fifteen per cent. which did answer which expressed itself favorably, if applied to all those who did not answer and to all other women in the State, would have meant that one million women of the State favored equal suffrage! It makes the claiming of the million a bit optimistic, to put it gently.

I don't want to give the impression from these generalizations and particular incidents that I found all Suffragist speakers unfair. I did not. I had experiences in debating this question which were really a delight in the fairness and squareness of them, and I had opponents whom I admire decidedly. And such experiences were just sufficiently rare to make them all the more appreciated.

I wish I had taken the time in those hectic days to set down all the contradictions of fact and theory I heard on the suffrage side. I don't object, of course, to people being Suffragists for different reasons. People are also Antis for different reasons. All that any intelligent person can object to is having contradictory reasons used as arguments for suffrage, according to the temper of the audience. Then the practice becomes too clear proof of the ease with which women adopt the political point-of-view and promises rather badly for any possible reform we will ever accomplish.

For instance, I have two meetings in one evening before different kinds of organizations. At the first I heard a tirade against the whole anti-suffrage cause because the political organizations were said to be on our side. I hurried from there to a Tammany club. Two Suffragists spoke, one before me and one after. And the one who spoke last cried, "Gentlemen, all

these arguments for and against woman suffrage are tommyrot. There is just one thing that concerns you, and just one reason why we want the vote. We ask the vote to help Tammany!"

It is rather interesting that whenever we did have debates, every one of us Anti speakers felt that they were a good thing for our side. I don't believe that was prejudice. I know it wasn't due to any sense of personal achievement. I mean simply that making people, men and women, understand the whole subject on both sides as thoroughly as possible is to the advantage of the Anti-Suffrage side. There are superficial and fallacious suffrage slogans, which, unless they are exploded at the time they are heard, are nevertheless effective. "Taxation without representation"—don't ever make an Anti speech without answering that—"justice," "not trusting your wife and mother," "The right to vote," etc. Dozens of these things which carry in a single speech fall down in debate.

One such cry which has been used particularly these last few months is "If the women could vote there would be no war." I knew some young Englishmen who heard that quite often this summer and it used to make them furious.

"Do you suppose," they would exclaim, "that our mothers and our sisters would have voted to keep us out of this war, which means our very life?"

There were many amusing things all through, as well as many unhappy ones, and perhaps most of all there were many things to be learned—aside from the most imperative lesson of it all—that politics is not the best field for women to work in nor women the best material for political development.

Some of these things we knew before. They have only been more deeply impressed upon us. Among them is the fact that the men of these campaign States, like the men of all other States, want to be fair to the women of their State. The Suffragists have learned that lesson, it seems, because they have announced since election that they must convert more women. We have learned that all of us were more right than we realized when we have insisted that women must organize to defeat suffrage, even when they are such typical Antis that they want to keep out of the whole thing. All over the States the strong and weak spots for us show at the places where we were or were not organized, where we worked or where we didn't. The election figures prove this, aside from the communities where we have been assured personally by the residents of them that they were for suffrage until our workers went there.

We have learned that men want to know WHY women are opposed to it, and that when they do know why they treat our reasons with the greatest respect. We have learned that unpleasant personalities always hurt those who use them, that however much we may smart under unfair attacks, we may salve our wounds with the comfort that it all helps our cause.

And we have learned for one thing that the average man has absolutely no idea of how busy the average woman's life is now. And that one of the most effective things we can do is to make him realize the work, the care, the responsibilities, and the opportunities, and then although it pains his chivalry, we must make him realize that the women he knows who are not busy, who do not have responsibilities, are neglecting work which is at their hand to do and which is not going to be done at all if they don't do it.

And we've also learned anew, what we always did believe, that there are splendid, earnest, sincere, fair women on both sides of every question, and that if we could only drop the political division the suffrage question has thrust upon us, and all work together for the things we all want accomplished for the world, there isn't any power on earth that could stop us from getting that better world.

WHAT THE SUFFRAGE DEFEAT MEANS

BY MARGARET C. ROBINSON

IT means for one thing that the woman who does not readily resort to the press or the rostrum has at last got her message across, and that men now know not only that she does not want the vote, but that she will not use it. Massachusetts women have been demonstrating this for seventeen years, as 97.9 per cent. of the women of this State have declined to use the school vote. The Suffragists have attempted to explain this on the ground that the school question was too unimportant to be interesting. But now the Western woman who can vote on every question is sending us her message, the press of the Pacific Coast serving as her megaphone.

The Spokane (Washington) *Chronicle* of September 25 says: "The present deficiency in registration of women is a reproach to the new class of voters," and it hints delicately that men are realizing that they made a mistake in giving the women the vote. The *Woman Citizen*, a suffrage publication of California, says: "There are to-day many women in California and other States of the Union who, being enfranchised, are too indifferent to vote. They regard the franchise as an invitation to a bridge party—something they can accept or reject, as their fancy dictates." The San Francisco *Chronicle* for April 17 says: "Suffrage was forced upon women by a small minority of their sex who induced a majority of the men to vote their way. The number of women who register is limited and the number who vote is smaller still, which proves that women as a sex do not wish to be bothered with voting." The San Francisco *Chronicle* also said last December: "Results show that in this State women refuse to accept the obligation which at their request or upon their apparent acquiescence has been imposed upon them, or to discharge the resulting duties. The question, then, for the people of the other States to decide in the light of the experience of the Western States, is whether it is in the public interest to impose upon women imperative duties which the great majority of women refuse to discharge after they have been imposed upon them."

The suffrage vote in the East means that the Eastern men have heard the message and are taking notice. It does not mean, as the Suffragists claim, that the East is too conservative to accept woman suffrage. It is not "conservatism" which led the East to reject Populism and free silver—it was sense. Instead of "conservatism" it is a most alert and wideawake readiness to learn by and avoid other peoples' mistakes which leads the East to reject woman suffrage. The West finds that woman suffrage is costly, is obnoxious to the majority of women, lessens the respect in which women are held, has a tendency to deprive them of the privileges civilization has brought them, and accomplishes nothing which men alone cannot accomplish. Why should the East adopt it?

Almost every city or town in Massachusetts gave a majority against suffrage. This proves that men of every type voted against it—farmers, business men, labor unions, mill operatives, as well as college communities. The reasons against suffrage must be many and varied to appeal to so many kinds of men, and some few of these reasons I know from talking with the men themselves.

Working men voted against it because they believe the feminist teachings of economic independence for all women means that they would lose their jobs, and be unable to support their families. Farmers voted against it because they believe in the division of labor and differentiation of function, although they express it in other words. One farmer at a country fair put it: "Women have their place, all right, but it ain't at the plough." Professor W. I. Thomas, of Chicago, undoubtedly cost the Suffragists many votes. His statement at the National Suffrage

Convention, that "any girl, mentally mature, has a right to motherhood," was apparently not unfavorably received by the Suffragists present. This theory is, however, not yet popular in America. The average decent man—and being an Anti, I believe there are many decent men—thinks such teaching is likely to lead a girl to perdition.

Many votes were lost by the heckling of political candidates, others by the growing spirit of hoodlumism among young girl adherents of the cause. Many votes were lost by the attempt of the Suffragists to face both ways on the liquor question, others by the attempt to force men to pledge themselves as to how they would vote. Men resent such attempts, and some of them take their revenge in the polling booth. One man of wide political experience told me that he believed the Suffragists lost thousands of votes by having their women sell the Boston *American* on the street.

The suffrage defeat means also that the readiness of the Suffragists to spend hundreds of thousands of dollars at this time, when thousands of women and children are dying for lack of things this money would buy, throws considerable doubt on the sincerity of their oft-expressed longing to "mother the community," as well as upon the much talked of "solidarity of women" which is to bind the women of all countries together by means of the vote. The Polish mother, whose child was starving must have thought, if she had known of it, that without too great self-sacrifice, a little less might have been spent on the gorgeous parades whereby the Suffragists marched to defeat.

It means that the voters realize that a time like this, when our government is confronted with the most serious problems we have had to face since the Civil War, is no time to undertake a gigantic experiment which has never been tried on a large scale anywhere in the world, and which, as the Boston *Transcript* said, "would lay hold of the very foundation of our lives and would mean a remaking of our society." This judgment is strengthened and confirmed when less than a week before election Mrs. Belmont, the famous leader of the Woman's Congressional Union, said: "If the women do not win here, they will go on with the campaign in the State, but there will not be much to do, and they may as well torment the members of the Federal Government. I expect to spend a great deal of my own time in Washington this winter."

A deliberate plan to "torment" the members of the Federal Government at this time shows what unpatriotic voters these women would be if enfranchised. They belong in the hyphenated class—they are Suffrage-Americans—and we have enough hyphenated voters now.

The suffrage defeat means that the majority of men voters are not converted to the suffrage definition of democracy as meaning that every adult citizen, male or female, should be in politics. They evidently prefer Pasteur's definition that "Democracy is that form of government which permits every individual citizen to do his best for the common good," and believe with the Anti-Suffragists that women can best serve the common good outside of politics.

Men whom I know personally have been utterly disgusted by the attempt of suffrage leaders to make the public believe that such a man as Mr. Frank Foxcroft, one of the leaders in the movement which made Cambridge the largest no-license city in the world, and has helped to keep it in the "dry" column for twenty years, was in league with the liquor interests; and that such women as Lucy Price, a graduate of Vassar and a newspaper woman of ability, and Miss Minnie Bronson, a trained investigator and a respected employe of our government, were in league with the underworld. The men argue that if the

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Suffragists who make these claims believe them, it shows that fanaticism has completely blunted their powers of judgment, making them unsafe guides; and in expecting the public to believe them, they assume a lack of intelligence on the part of the voter that he keenly resents.

The suffrage defeat means that the men of the Eastern States

have decided to stand by the women—the majority, not the ten per cent—and it means that unless the Suffragists change the whole character of their activities—and can the leopard change his spots?—their announced determination to continue their work with renewed vigor will be welcomed by their opponents with enthusiasm.

"YOU CANNOT FOOL ALL THE PEOPLE ALL THE TIME"

BY MISS FLORENCE R. HALL

Chairman, Public Interests Committee, Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

NO matter what one may think of the Suffragists, one must give them credit for being clever politicians. From a woman's standpoint, the Antis regard many suffrage tricks as deplorable, but no one can afford to overlook the fact that many of them are effective.

It is doubtful if the Suffragists would have a case in any State whatever were it not for their policy of contorting everything from which they can manufacture evidence for their cause.

In certain districts they have made ignorant persons believe that every Anti-Suffragist is a walking delegate for the liquor and vice interests. They mention no names, unless they are far out in the woods, with no Antis around. Then, officers of the Anti-Suffrage Association suddenly acquire imaginary breweries, and fictitious children and deserted homes are freely bestowed on the women who speak against votes for women.

If far enough from any one acquainted with the facts, the suffrage orator solemnly assures her hearers that at one time women were not even admitted to have souls; that it took a thousand men to decide this vital question, and that they reached the decision by a majority of only one. Of course, it is not true—but it is hard to get samples of "oppression" nowadays, and the Suffragists must seek sympathy somehow, even if they have to go back a thousand years to find a fake example. Another terrible tale that is supposed to send shivers up and down the uninformed mother's spine is the story that in male suffrage States—the number is varied according to the audience—a father may will his children away from the mother, even before their birth.

A third canard is told about "liquor interests" whenever the suffrage orator is in a dry district, but in the moist communities she insists that there is absolutely no connection between prohibition and woman suffrage, and assures the "wets" that votes for women will not rout rum. In industrial communities, women are promised higher wages and told that in suffrage States women have "equal pay for equal work." It is not considered desirable to inform them, however, that such equal pay refers usually to teachers only, and that they secured it first in States where only men vote.

Neither is it confided that the State of Colorado, after twenty-three years of woman suffrage, passed a workman's compensation law that pays the widow \$2 less a week than either Pennsylvania or New Jersey, and that Colorado limits the total payments to \$2,500, while the man-made laws of Pennsylvania and New Jersey grant \$4,000.

Child labor is touchingly described as due to the absence of women's votes—but no Suffragist deems it wise to reveal that Wyoming, after forty-six years of woman suffrage, passed a child labor law without an age limit, merely requiring children under fourteen to be employed not over nine hours a day; that California, after four years of woman suffrage, adopted a measure allowing children of ten to engage in street trades—while Pennsylvania, at the same session of the Legislature (1915) passed a child labor law requiring all children except newsboys to be over fourteen, and appropriating \$1,000,000 for vocational education. In other words, children over fourteen in Pennsylvania can be employed but forty-three hours a week, and must have 8 hours of school, while in Wyoming, with women voting nearly half a century, children under fourteen may be worked fifty-four hours a week, with no provision for their education whatever.

Neither does the suffrage orator dwell on the fact that the census shows a higher proportion of women over forty-five and of children under thirteen working out in Colorado than in Pennsylvania or New Jersey.

Another fallacy is in frequent use about working women. According to the suffrage theory, there are between eight and nine million women "working outside of the home." That 90 per cent. of the women are living at home who work in factory or shop, that 45 per cent. of all women employed are engaged in the homes of other women—where the vote would not better their conditions—and that 30 per cent. are under age—is of no consequence.

Neither do suffrage orators dwell on the fact that one-third of the women and girls employed in the canneries of the United States are working all the year around in California—with no limitation on their hours of labor.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE FROM A MAN'S VIEW-POINT

BY HON. FREDERICK BOYER

Of the Pennsylvania Legislature.

(From a statement made to the Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.)

FOR the women behind this suffrage movement, I have no comment. I rather admire and respect them for their adherence to a principle which they believe to be right. Some of them who speak publicly in our city day after day are indeed far superior in their intelligent discussion of political problems to some of the men I am obliged to listen to at times like this. Some of them are without doubt most eloquent in their appeals, and when you add to this the natural charm of womanhood and its influence upon man, you make their appeals all the more dangerous to our institutions. I have no quarrel with these

women, much as I may differ with them, but I have an utter contempt for the men who do not have sufficient understanding to see through their sophistries, nor the manhood to express the opposition they really feel in their hearts. It is this hypocrisy, this weakness, this cowardice, and assumed chivalry on the part of men, for selfish, personal, business and political considerations that has always disgusted me.

I have known preachers to stand in their pulpits and shamefully surrender the noblest ideals of both manhood and womanhood for the sake of momentary applause. Instead of manly

and courageous adherence to fixed principles of both law and the gospel, they fall in line with every unholy onslaught that is made to-day upon the very cause they are ordained to represent. I know of one for whom I did at least entertain some admiration, a man high in the civic affairs of our city and noted as a preacher, a lecturer, a scholar and enterprising public benefactor, who has time and again, even while evading the question, intimated that it was not woman's province to throw herself into the political struggles of men, but such is the inherent desire of our weak manhood to be pleasant, that he is now recorded as a convert to the suffrage movement, not because of any personal convictions in this direction, but to fall in line with a procession which may appear more popular than heretofore.

The merchant whose advertisements fill entire pages of our daily newspapers and whose appeal for business is made primarily to women, trembles at the very thought that he might be found in opposition to some of his customers.

The dreamer whose chief aim in life is to make both men and women virtuous, temperate and industrious by some act of the Legislature, deludes himself with the false hope that women will listen to him when men of practical sense and a spirit of justice will not.

The solution to this problem should not be found in the relative virtue or intelligence of men and women, but in the consideration of fundamental principles, which from all creation and through all the ages have fixed both physically and socially the status of both.

Woman suffrage is fundamentally and inherently wrong, and no amount of argument can make it right. Some time ago, while the Legislature was in session, a committee of women waited on me to discuss this subject. We did discuss it, and everything that could be said was carefully considered. I pointed to a set of books that contained practically everything ever written in favor of the ballot, and I told them that the more I read their literature, the more I was convinced against them. Speaking candidly, I wish to say that I regret that this is true. I am no woman hater. I love woman for all the virtues that her sex has given her, but the nobility of her character, her charm, and sympathies belong to the home, where both heaven and earth have crowned her as queen.

The movement for suffrage has its inception in the ambition of certain women to find an avenue in which publicly to display their intellectual development. It comes from a restless spirit on the part of those whose training outside of the home has unfitted them for the real duties of life, and is aided quite frequently by the man whose own sense of responsibility inside and outside of the home depend upon what a wife with a stronger will than his own is able to accomplish in triumph over a decayed manhood.

This woman who is always crying for her "rights" is not so much concerned with herself as she is in denying equal rights to others. It is not an effort on her part to govern herself, but to lord her power over others. Woman was made to be man's helpmate, not his ruler. She cannot be his helper in the family if the law allows her to be in discord with her husband. You cannot help a person unless you do as he wants you to do. Men are always ready to give her the place of honor at home, and gracefully submit to her opinions and policies in many things at the fireside, but when it comes to a governmental proposition in which the very life of the nation and the liberties of the race are involved, they must by all the laws of nature and her inherent weakness be dependent on the strong arm of the man, who stands ready to fight for and protect his home.

It is all very interesting to read of and to listen to this talk of a "triumphant democracy," in which the supreme power is in the hands of the people, and directly exercised by them, but this democracy still implies a system of representation, even though the ultimate power is in the hands of the electors. It is and always will be a constitu-

tional and representative government such as we all enjoy to-day. The very first element in a democracy is to be able to rule, and this ability to rule rests upon force, the character and kind of force which requires the strong arm of men to defend against all efforts to destroy it. It is government by representation. Government as instituted represents man, and man in turn represents the family. How can a man speak for his family when there exists political riot and disorder at home? They tell us that men did not always vote and enjoy the liberties now granted by law, but they forget that every movement to take power out of the hand of tyrants was only accomplished by force. The men who stood at Runnymede, with their swords drawn, and demanded the first concessions of English liberty, were not accompanied by their wives and daughters. The patriots who fired the shots at Lexington in resistance to British oppression were not concerned with female suffrage, but the vital necessity of sufficient force.

The gray-haired veteran who, fifty years ago, stood on the bloody field of Gettysburg, knows that force and force alone held back the onward march of the men in rebellion against constitutional government and saved us as a nation.

The tales we hear about war are sad enough, I must admit. Men do not look for war, any more than they seek to quarrel and fight with each other. But wars do come, and it is impossible sometimes to settle them by arbitration, because questions of honor and self-respect, insults to our flag and violence to our citizens do not permit us to trifle with those who fail to respect us. Shall the manhood of this country on occasions like this be subordinated to the silly talk of women who tell us that they will settle these questions for us when once they have the power? Much as I deprecate war, still more do I despise the feminine instinct in some men to have peace at any price. As long as men are the real vital force behind government they should be left to decide for themselves all questions concerning it, and not be annoyed by emotional women, who represent nothing but their narrow, selfish ambition.

There is but one question involved in the issue now before the people:

Have we manhood enough in Pennsylvania to govern ourselves, or do we need woman to keep us right? If the manhood of Pennsylvania is lost then let us have women, and women alone to govern us.

Another thing these women forget is that with suffrage, women, and more especially young women, will be thrown into temptations even worse than they are now. Not only that, but public life and ambition for office holding will inevitably draw more women away from the home. Even those who do not desire the vote at first, will be prevailed upon by others, by female politicians, by social leaders, or even in some cases by their own husbands, to get into politics in order to help with the women's votes. Besides, it will introduce political corruption into the home itself. For her vote, the woman may demand a new dress or hat from her husband—or she may disfranchise him, practically, in a fit of spite unless she gets what she wants.

When women go wrong, it is not any sudden determination to become corrupt, but the result of environment and temptation. Increase these temptations and you will make more women go wrong. The more men know of the world, the more they want to see their women protected from its evils. The lowest man has some respect for his family, and does not want to expose womanhood. Such knowledge as it is necessary for boys and girls to have about the evils of the world should be gained in the sympathetic atmosphere of the home itself. One of the things that drag young girls down is their association with other girls who know too much evil. They are invited out, without chaperones, and eventually they fall. Women in politics would greatly magnify this menacing condition, introduce the element of sex corruption to our present suffrage, and multiply the evils which even men are seeking to minimize.

CONDITIONS UPON WHICH VOTE IS BESTOWED

FALLING back upon an ancient and discredited argument and flying in the face of the decision of the highest court in the land, the New York Tribune recently published an editorial declaring suffrage "an inalienable right." The editorial had all the earmarks of an inspired article coming straight from the Suffrage camp.

On October 30th, the following able presentation of the real conditions upon which the franchise is bestowed appeared in the Boston Transcript over the signature of John Cutler:

To the Editor of the Transcript:

Suffrage is not a natural right. If it is a natural right, like the right to life, it is the right of all those barred from it whether by sex, age, or mental incapacity.

To attempt to justify the withholding of it from any is to deny that it is a natural right, for natural rights must be the rights of all without exceptions. For women to ask that the suffrage be extended to them is an admission that it is a privilege and not a right, and that those who exercise it have the acquired right of extending it or restricting it.

Suffrage is based fundamentally on might. Those exercising it must have the power to enforce their will as expressed in law. For men to admit women to the suffrage would be to weaken the State, for to do so would increase the number of lawmakers without increasing the strength of the law enforcers.

Suffrage carries with it duties and responsibilities which women, because they are women, would be unable to assume. Men at the call of the State must be ready to enforce law through jury duty, through assistance to civil officers making arrests and through service under arms. To say that women serve through contributing sons and husbands is begging the question. Sons have fathers as well as mothers. Sorrow, suffering and heartache will not arrest criminals, quell riots, or win battles. Force makes short shrift of sentiment. Nothing can overcome force but force. Suffragists object to the phrase "Woman's place is in the home." What place would they have ascribed to women? When a nation is attacked a man's place is in the ranks. If woman has the vote where will her place be?

Suffrage does not go with taxation. Taxation goes with suffrage, because it is the law that all must contribute to the State and the majority of taxpayers are voters because men have the vote and men furnish the great mass of wealth creators and producers. Non-voters are taxed because the State extends its protection to them and their property. Of the property held by women and taxed the great bulk is inherited prop-

erty accumulated in the beginning by men. Wealth has no rights except those given by the State.

Suffrage for women is urged by a destructive campaign. Its advocates would weaken the State by adding an element of weakness to its law makers. The impulsive part of the electorate is already large, to add to it might be to make it the dominant one. Laws reflect the people who make them. An effeminate nation will write effeminate laws on its statute books. An effeminate nation is bound to fall. Either it will be subverted by some stronger outside nation or convulsed by revolution from within. Laws that cannot be enforced create contempt for law and undermine all laws. Nowhere is the woman suffrage campaign marked by a constructive idea. No suffrage State has taken an original constructive step forward. In some of them conditions are disgraceful, in most of them, because of ill-digested laws and unsound newly-created functions of the State, taxation is burdensome, and in none of them are conditions better than, if equal to, those in non-suffrage States. The suffrage campaign is an attempt to gain for women, through the ballot, more benefits and privileges from the State and at the same time to relieve them, because of their sex, from the disagreeable duties and responsibilities that now go with the vote. This program which to mere man seems pure selfishness is by Suffragists styled "a plea for justice."

Suffragists ask men to give them the vote "because we want it." In this State the Suffragists are a very small part of all the women of the State. The man who votes "Yes" because of this appeal and men who vote "Yes" to see what women will do with the vote are examples of the dangerous element always present in the electorate and always a menace to the success and perpetuation of democracy. They are the constant example of the need of contracting the suffrage rather than extending it. The man who votes without thinking, or to please some woman or some man, is to a degree a traitor to himself and to the State. He is like the man who pulls the plug from the bottom of the boat "to see what will happen," and who, when the boat fills and sinks, calls loudest for someone to save him.

Suffragists have not advanced an argument or fact to show that votes for women would in any way benefit the State. Facts show that where the vote has been given them the result has been nugatory or derogatory. So long as men are men, and women women, and human nature what it is, government will exist through the exercise of might; and to man, and not to woman, must be entrusted the making and enforcing of law.

JOHN CUTLER.

"A MISFORTUNE FOR THE RACE"

BY MRS. FRANCIS M. SCOTT

Honorary Vice-President New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

FOR the sake of the importance of the real question let us come down to the basic question which the voters of this State will decide in November for some time to come, if not finally.

The question stripped bare to its very kernel is simply this: Do the physical differences between men and women indicate any consequent difference in the lives they are to lead, especially in regard to governmental matters? "Governmental matters" is

a loose phrase which is used here to cover specifically the responsibilities incurred by the exercise of the suffrage. The most important points bearing directly on this question are: The right of suffrage, force, motherhood, industrial and other special legislation and expediency. The assumption of a right to the suffrage may be dismissed cursorily. There is no student who does not know that it has been held and demonstrated again and again that every extension of the suf-

franchise has been at the will of the State and for motives of expediency. A very little consideration will show that this must be so and that no right can inhere to any citizen, the primary condition of an age limit being ample proof of the fact.

It is an axiom of government that in the last analysis it rests upon force. Without the ability to enforce its laws government rapidly lapses into anarchy. Mexico and Hayti are instances now before our eyes, and every history of every country demonstrates this fundamental fact so impressively that no other conclusion is possible. Perhaps sweetness and light, moral suasion, argument, arbitration ought to decide the issue in and between States and nations, but they do not.

This being so is it desirable or wise, or even possible, to put into the law-making machinery a set of wheels which are unable to support the consequences of the work to be done? Unable, not because they are inferior to the wheels already doing the work, but because they are so made that they fit another machine better, where the material turned out is the kind they are made to accomplish. To leave a somewhat imperfect analogy: The conditions of modern life take many women out into the world through necessity or inclination, and this has resulted in a readjustment of habits and ideas which tend to confuse because they are not accepted as simple and orderly changes, but are hailed as epoch-making advances. Self-support has brought about a certain freedom to many women, and it is having a curious effect upon them and creating a misapprehension as to the value of that condition. It is a misfortune for the race, and so for the State, when a woman's mind accepts the commercial point of view that economic independence is an end in itself, that it in some way conduces to a higher dignity to be paid in money rather than in affection and gratitude, and that a service rendered through duty or love is less worthy than one for which

cash payment is received. That is a twisted view and one which cannot persist. To earn a money wage is not a high ambition after all. The "woman outside the home" exists and her place there economic conditions will in time adjust; but the difference between the outside work just now considered so desirable and political responsibility is obvious. One is a personal choice or necessity, the other is an obligation, and here is where the factor of parenthood impinges.

Fatherhood lays no physical disability upon a man. From the moment of procreation to birth, from the hour of birth until the man or womanhood of the child is reached, there is no inherent reason why man may not go about the business of providing a home and its comforts for his wife and child, attend political meetings, occupy government positions, become if need be a soldier, a sailor, a judge or a jurymen. On the other hand, there is not a moment from conception to the birth, and from birth until the child is grown, when motherhood should not be the first claim upon a woman. Motherhood is not an incident in the life of a woman; it is an all-absorbing occupation, or should be; a business which should claim her first strength and interest, and the vital one upon which the welfare of the State rests. Where women, through hard circumstances, are not able to do this, the State loses an asset. But because it is the first duty it is not to be understood that there are no others. Ample " * * * time and opportunity are available for many civic and other undertakings, but they should never come first with the mother. They must come first from the father, if a stable government is to exist."

"It is the intellectual conviction of those in opposition that woman suffrage is unnecessary as a matter of advancement either for the State as a whole, or women as a class; futile as a political expedient for the betterment of conditions, and destructive of much that is best worth preserving in modern civilization."

AN EXAMPLE OF PRACTICAL POLITICS

(From *Baltimore Sun*, October 9)

THE hottest and bitterest session ever held by a gathering of Suffragists in this city occurred yesterday afternoon, when the members of the Woman Suffrage Party, which was conceived and organized as a melting pot for all suffrage discord and over which the dove of peace was always to hover, met at the Equal Suffrage League headquarters for the election of a president for their affiliated body.

After two hours and a quarter of constant and open doubting of each other's veracity and the honesty of each other's modes of procedure, and after a second vote had to be taken because it was discovered that there was one too many ballots in the ballot box according to the number of accredited voters, Mrs. J. William Funck, president of the Maryland Woman Suffrage Association, was elected president.

One of the men suggested that the number of accredited voters be counted and then the number of votes cast be counted. This was done and it was discovered that

while there were 28 qualified voters present 29 little pieces of neatly folded paper lay on the table. The votes were cast into the waste paper basket, and every woman present looked askance at somebody else, or, looking knowingly at some friend in the line-up, nodded her head significantly.

The recount was taken with many precautions. As Mrs. Frank Ramey, presiding chairman of the meeting, read off the names of the voters, and while Mr. Poe in full view of the gathering held a hat, each woman came forward and with the eyes of all the others watching her closely, dropped the newly made ballot into place. The result was a deadlock, 14 votes having been cast for Mrs. Poe and 14 having been cast for Mrs. Funck.

It was then Mrs. Poe rose to the occasion. She declared that it was the party rather than the person appointed that was important, and she withdrew as a nominee and moved that Mrs. Funck be unanimously elected. In the end, after turmoil raged for a quarter of an hour, somebody seconded Mrs. Poe's motion and it was carried.

AMENITIES

(From a Boston Daily.)

TAUNTON, Oct. 7.—Helen Todd, a California Suffragist, retired from the suffrage rally on Taunton Green tonight when Marjorie Dorman, a New York Anti, appeared and challenged her to debate the issues of suffrage in Historical Hall nearby. A large crowd which had been amused by the efforts of the Suff's bugler to break up the Antis' rally in the hall earlier, jeered and hissed the Suffrage party as it drove away. Then about 600 men and women followed Miss Dorman into the hall, where they listened to speeches against suffrage by Col. Irish, of California, William H. Mogan, of Boston, and Miss Dorman.

The Antis opened their rally in the hall with only a small audience about the same time Miss Todd started on the Green. When Miss Todd and her associates had finished speaking Miss Dorman appeared and challenged her. The crowd cheered. On Miss Dorman's return to the hall the Suff's started their bugle. When Miss Dorman appeared again with her challenge the Suffragist party fled.

SOME SUFFRAGE MISTAKES

THAT Anti-Suffragists are lacking in a sense of humor in failing to understand that some of the extreme sayings of Suffragists are a form of wit, is the statement of Crystal Eastman Benedict, a leading radical.

That even Suffragists may lack a sense of humor is indicated in two recent "explanations" of suffrage defeats.

Regarding the first, we quote the following from the *New York Times* of Oct. 27th:

THE FIGHT BETWEEN GOOD AND EVIL.

"The *Christian Science Monitor* treats its readers to this simple explanation of the defeat of woman suffrage in New Jersey:

"Corrupt politics, gang politics, cheap politics, liquor and its long and hideous train of allied evils, combined with deception and fear of woman's purity and honesty in public life, with such aid and comfort as were given by thousands of respectable and conscientious men, uninformed or misinformed as to the real issue at stake, made up the combination before which the Suffragists went down."

"This seems to be the official feminist view. Woman suffrage is supported by all intelligent and good persons. It is opposed, and beaten, wherever it is beaten, by cheap politicians—politicians who favor it are 'dear' politicians—by political gangsters, by corrupt politicians, by the solid rum power, and all the leagued vices and vicious, all the sinister and evil elements of the electorate, and by 'thousands'—can there be so many?—of respectable ignorant men who lack the mental power to understand the question.

"The *Paterson Press-Guardian* shows the other side of the shield:

"Perhaps the worst mistake that the Suffragists made in their campaign in New Jersey was to antagonize the men. From the beginning the suffrage enthusiasts themselves, as well as the newspapers and the male speakers who aimed to help the cause, took the position that every man and every interest that were opposed to equal suffrage were in some way identified with evil influences. The whole propaganda seemed to have been lined up on the principle that the male voters were made up of two classes—honorable men and dishonorable men, the former being practically without exception in favor of woman suffrage and the latter being almost to a man opposed to the cause."

"A beautiful suasive way of convincing opponents and converting doubters. The assumption that not to be a Suffragist is to be a son of Belial may be regarded as amusing or irritating, according to the temperament of the voters; it certainly

was to many 'uninformed' masculine minds another evidence of the unfitness of women to take part in political life. The belligerent and calumnious attitude of too many of the Jersey Suffragists toward the other side 'was a factor in the outcome,' says the *Paterson paper*, though 'the great majority of the men of New Jersey voted against the amendment because they believed that the sacrifice to womanhood would be too great to compensate for any results that might come from woman's votes.'

"New York and New Jersey are substantially one community."

The second bit of humor is the following contained in a report of an after-election suffrage meeting, as reported by the *New York Times*:

"According to statements made at the regular meeting of the Women's Republican Club, at Delmonico's yesterday morning, votes against the suffrage amendment were bought in Manhattan for as little as fifty cents, and more often for the price of a drink when choice of money or liquor was offered. Most of the women in the club were strongly in favor of suffrage, and they commiserated over their defeat at the polls last week. Causes for the defeat of suffrage in each of the Eastern States where the question was voted on were discussed by Mrs. James Griswold Wentz, president of the Women's Republican Club.

"In New Jersey, she said, it was the machine politicians and the lower element who defeated votes for women. This was clearly shown, in her opinion, by the fact that the vote in Jersey was almost as great as that cast in presidential elections. It was only to beat woman suffrage that the men turned out in such overwhelming numbers, she said.

"Suffrage met defeat in Pennsylvania, according to Mrs. Wentz, at the hands of the Republican boss, whom she likened to the Tammany chief in New York.

"The defeat of Suffrage was a tremendous throw-down for women in the Eastern States," continued Mrs. Wentz. "It was an awful thing to have the men turn us down after so many of our best women, our most brilliant women, and most educated women had given their honest efforts to the cause. I want to say now what I said immediately after the election, that I will never again stand on a platform to speak for woman suffrage in New York State. It is too humiliating to think that American women, born of the best American blood for generation after generation, must go out into the streets to ask the men for votes.

"Why, in our homes we have asked votes of the painters, the butchers, grocers,

ashmen and janitors. That's a great humiliation to the American women, and I can't understand why the men can't see. Why should we be compelled to ask illiterate foreigners whether we can vote? How much do you suppose those men care whether we vote? If we are going to keep up our ideals we should bar from the vote the foreigner who cannot read or write. Why do we take this ignorant horde and give them the vote? They never will learn.

"Just as soon as women have the vote they will have a lively interest in such things as child labor, pure food, clean streets, and a thousand other questions that affect the home, and in which the men are not interested. If for no other reason women should be given the vote."

The *New York Times* made this speech of Mrs. Wentz the text of an editorial upon the real meaning of political effort:

(From *The New York Times*, Nov. 15)

"It is too humiliating to think that American women, born of the best American blood for generation after generation, must go out into the streets to ask the men for votes. Why, in our homes we have asked votes of the painters, the butchers, grocers, ashmen and janitors. That's a great humiliation to the American women, and I can't understand why the men can't see."—Mrs. J. G. Wentz, President of the Women's Republican Club.

"But that, dear lady, is just what mixing up in politics means. Exercising the right of suffrage, bearing the responsibility that goes with it, discharging the duty that it entails, is not all roses. Must you be carried to the skies on flowery beds of ease whilst others fight to win the prize and sail through bloody seas? Men who want a great cause to triumph, or even one that is not so great but is needed in their business, have to go out in the streets and ask painters, butchers, grocers, ashmen and janitors for their votes. The right, responsibility, privilege and duty carry with them more than just sailing grandly up to a ballot box once a year and dropping in a piece of paper. They carry more than meeting at teas and luncheons and hearing discussions on 'Man: How Can We Uplift Him and Save Him from Himself?' They mean, as Mrs. Wentz has discovered, hard work of a kind which she, to her angry astonishment, finds disagreeable and calls 'humiliating.' Man has cheerfully shouldered that work, and he is so irredeemably debased that he does not find it disagreeable, much less humiliating. Why not let man go on with it, since he seems to like it and you don't? For it is very truth, O disillusioned and indignant madam, if you and your fellows get the vote and go into politics in any sort of earnest, in any way except as a fad or diversion, that that is just the kind of work you will have to do, not for one year or two, but as long as you and your descendants shall vote."

SIDE-LIGHTS ON THE MASSACHUSETTS VICTORY

BY MARJORIE DORMAN

SO numerous these days are the felicitations exchanged by suffrage leaders that those of us who opposed votes for women are wondering if, indeed, we did defeat that proposition. Apropos of the mental attitude of the Suffragists, Mrs. Annie Riley Hale tells a clever story of an old negro slave who, after a Confederate rout, rushed to the plantation and exclaimed, "Marse James an' his men am advancin' backward, ma'am, an' de enemy am retreatin' after 'em." Which epitomizes the present situation of the Suffragists and the Antis. We are, indeed, retreating after 'em, and retreating with considerable vigor. Yet, nevertheless, the Suffragists have held meetings in several large eastern cities to celebrate their advance backwards.

The blue ribbon State of the Anti forces is, of course, Massachusetts. Massachusetts to date is the one State in the Union in which every county returned a majority vote against woman suffrage. Sixty-five per cent. of the total vote cast went against the amendment, the Suffragists polling only 35 per cent. This is the highest proportion against suffrage ever given by any State. Of course, the suffrage leaders must concede that opposition to woman suffrage defeated woman suffrage, yet they refuse to admit the part played by the organized opposition of intelligent men and women. It is significant, however, in view of the oft-reiterated charges about the liquor and vice interests, that in the dry sections of the State, suffrage lost heavily. Towns which have not had a saloon within their borders for forty years returned heavy anti-suffrage majorities.

In Massachusetts such excellent work was done by every one, such fine co-operation existed, that it is difficult indeed, now that the smoke of battle has cleared away, to single out individuals or groups for particular praise. Yet to all of us, I think, one figure stands out predominantly, an arresting and lovable figure, that of the "grand old colonel," as the "boys" who campaigned called him. Colonel John P. Irish is seventy-three years old, a man of means, the owner of several newspapers, personal friend of McKinley, Cleveland, Jonquin Miller and many other notables. Yet he left his home in Oakland, Cal., and crossed the Continent to help us win the victory in the East. He was actuated by the same motives through which he organized the "gold democracy" to fight Bryan and free silver some years ago. Six feet three, with a shock of white hair, wearing his low collar without a necktie (as is the custom of the Quakers, to which religion he belongs), the Colonel's was a personality to be reckoned with. From scathing wit

and satire to the tenderest sentiment, his oratory swayed his hearers and, as one newspaper man expressed it, "put the Antis on the map." From the time he entered Massachusetts until he departed, the Colonel kept the Antis on the front pages of the papers and forever removed the campaign from the "woman's pages." Of the many witty and sarcastic and true statements contributed by Colonel Irish, the following will, I think, linger longest in the memories of those of us who learned to love and respect him during the recent hard-fought campaign: "On the outside of the doors of the houses of Massachusetts might be written, 'This house built by the toil of a man for the love of a woman, that here she might have shelter to bear and rear her children.' And on the inside of the same door could be inscribed, 'This house made into a home by the love of a woman for a man, that here he might find sympathy and love and help, and go forth to the struggle with renewed vigor.'"

Of course, Colonel Irish at once became the target of suffrage criticism and the gibes and sneers increased as the campaign neared its close. However, the Colonel's rapier wit was a match for any antagonist, and the fire of the enemy daunted him not at all, for, as he expressed it, "I have been abused for years by the most talented liars in the United States." Thinking to find a vulnerable point in his armor, Miss Minnie Mulry, a suffrage leader of uncertain years and even more uncertain temper, characterized the Colonel as an "old has been." Whereupon, the Colonel urbanely rejoined, with his infectious laugh, "Better an old has been, madam, than a left over!"

During the month of October, the Antis in Massachusetts campaigned the State in three automobiles with eight or ten men speakers who talked before the post offices in practically every town in the State, speaking six or eight times a day. In the evenings there were mass meetings at which the campaigners were joined by women speakers. Red fire, transparencies and brass bands advertised the event, and roses, buttons and literature were distributed in large quantities. Considerable heckling from Suffragists who dreaded debates marked both the day and night meetings. The attitude of the Suffragists toward debates is one of the most amusing developments of the year. Practically all the Anti-Suffragists have issued challenges to suffrage speakers at one time or another, yet it was with the greatest difficulty that the Massachusetts Men's Committee secured a series of three for one of their speakers. Only when a forum or a club invited each side to discuss its point of view did the anti-

suffrage speakers get any debating, and then it was not unusual for the suffrage organization to withdraw its representative at the last moment.

The result of his year of work as campaign manager for Massachusetts must have been particularly gratifying to Mr. Robert N. Turner, who worked so quietly and unostentatiously that, like Mr. George R. Conroy, who managed the publicity bureau, only on Election Day could the work be gauged. A speaker can tell whether or not he or she has succeeded with a meeting, but the campaign managers, organizers and publicity bureaus never know until the votes are counted whether their work has been efficient.

Most of the readers of the PROTEST are familiar with the sincerity and talents of the speakers who gave so generously of their abilities in the Massachusetts campaign. Every one worked on Sundays as well as week days during the month, for many churches and men's associations invited speakers at that time. Mrs. A. J. George, Miss Marjorie Dorman, Mrs. Henry Preston White, Miss Emily Bissell, Mrs. Albert Leatherbee, Mr. Charles L. Underhill, ex-Senator Charles Brown, former Lieutenant-Governor Robert Luce—these were some of the group who appeared on the firing line. But the real bulwark against the woman suffrage appeal consisted of the sensible women citizens themselves, who by thousands all over the State influenced the husbands, fathers, brothers and sons who loved them to "Vote no." So that to-night in the little cottages and the big mansions of the Old Bay State, when these same husbands, fathers, brothers and sons end the day's work and turn their faces homeward at twilight, the lamp in the window is lighted, awaiting their arrival, and the kettle is singing cheerfully on the hob. As Colonel Irish says, "There she stands—and God bless the old commonwealth of Massachusetts."

(From *Los Angeles Times*, October 27, 1915)

Two women voted yesterday at the City Hall out of 71 registered. This is an average of less than three in one hundred, with ideal conditions for exercising the suffrage. None need to walk more than two blocks on perfect sidewalks and pavements in entrancing weather.

From the above it seems that women in California are not so eager to vote as the agitators in the East would have the people believe.

MOTHER GOOSE

Hot Cross Suffs,
Hot Cross Suffs,
Efforts wasted in the East,
Cross, hot Suffs.

Tom, Tom, the Mormon's son,
Saw his mother vote when he was young.
"When I grow up it will pay" said he,
"To teach all my wives to vote for me."

There was an old woman
Who wanted a bill,
To give all women votes—
She's wanting it still.

Lucy Shallot dropped her ballot,
Kitty Fisher found it;
There was not a mark upon it,
But a ribbon round it.

Sing a song of suffrage
With ballots in a box—
Hundreds of them stuffed in
As hard, as hard as rocks.

When the box was opened
The count began to tell
That suffrage wasn't coming—
As the Antis knew full well.

Great big Miss Suff,
Who has not talked enough,
Stood up on a soap-box one day;
By came a small Anti,
And then "oh, instanti!"
She frightened Miss Suffrage away.

Sing a song of *common sense*,
We know the reason why
New Jersey, Penn, New York and Mass
Eschewed the Suffrage Pie!
When all the votes were counted
The Suffs began to sing—
"The liquor interests, vice and crime
Are those who've done this thing."

But Vice was in Seattle,
With Suffragist Mayor Gill.
Also in San Francisco,
With Crime her partner still.
Liquor in some suffrage States
Does better than in Maine.
Show us how out West, O, Suffs!
Ere you come East again.

The suffrage torch must remain unlighted
and the imitation liberty bell unring for
some time at least.

Considering how long a time, perhaps
for ever, some one advises their being put
in cold storage.

MARYLAND

THE Maryland Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage continues to have an office on Charles Street, Baltimore, which is open daily from ten to five o'clock, with someone in attendance. As this is the principal street in the city and the office being on the ground floor with a large show window full of Anti-Suffrage literature and buttons, it attracts a great deal of attention, and many people call for literature and to sign their names to the register. Meetings have been held from time to time in the homes of the members, which the President and other officers have addressed. In May a large card party was held at the home of Mrs. Garrett, President, and \$165.00 was cleared for the association fund. During the last week in August a tent was offered the association at the Glenburnie Carnival, which is the event of Anne Arundel County, which people for miles around attend. Several thousand leaflets, buttons and cards were distributed and many names added to the list of members. For three weeks and a half in September a booth was open at the "Made in Baltimore Exhibition" in the Fifth Regiment Armory, where great publicity work was accomplished and hundreds of people signed their names, and we think more people were reached than at any time since the organization of the association.

At both the Democratic and Republican State conventions, which were held in September, the demand of the Suffragists to have a plank inserted in the platforms was ignored, although both parties had been *commanded* to put it in and threatened if they did not. In view of the fact that the Republican party did have a woman suffrage plank in their platform last year, the Anti-Suffragists considered it quite a setback to woman suffrage in Maryland.

At the annual election of officers of The Woman's Political Party of Maryland there were more ballots cast than there were women to vote, which the newspapers all played up with great headlines and much publicity.

The Maryland Legislature meets in January, but as the great majority of the candidates are openly opposed to enfranchising the women of the State, no anxiety is felt for the outcome of the demand of the Suffragists that the question go to the electorate next year.

Executive Board meetings are held in the office on the first Thursday of each month.

At a suffrage meeting in Poughkeepsie early in November, a woman was heard to offer to knit a pair of socks for a man if he would vote "Yes" on the suffrage amendment. Bribery and corruption!

"P. S."

O trampled Femininity!
O tyrant Masculinity!
And so on to infinity!
(How suffrage ladies rage!)
Subtracting all jocosity
Mere man's a dire monstrosity,
Therefore with grim velocity
We'll drive him from the stage.

O Man, your personality
Is all commerciality,
Why, why in actuality
Why couldn't you behave?
With masterful proclivity
You doomed us to captivity
You cowed us to passivity,
You put us in a cave!

You permitted our vivacity,
Permitted some loquacity,
But held us with tenacity
Primeval Autocrat!
Alack for domesticity!
Connubial felicity
Doth vanish with perniciousity
When Madam wants a hat.

Yet you in our vicinity,
You same old Masculinity,
Eternal Femininity—
Our fairest frocks we donned.
You gratified our vanity
With honeysome urbanity,
Of you in our inanity
We foolishly were fond.

Fie chivalrous frivolity
And mediaeval polity!
We but demand equality
Relinquishing our charm.
What tho' from all vicinity
Of rising Femininity
Usurping Masculinity
Retireth in alarm.

P. S.

My postscript is in verity
A proof of some temerity
As now with due celerity
I lay aside my pen.
It may be whimsicality
Or stultified mentality
But in profound reality
I do not hate the men!

"THINGS ARE GETTING DONE"

MRS. LILY RICE FOXCROFT was the principal speaker at a recent anti-suffrage meeting in Massachusetts. She is the wife of Frank Foxcroft, of Cambridge, who was for fifteen years chairman of the citizens' no-license committee of that city, which has a continuous no-license record of twenty-eight years, longer than that of any other city of equal size in the country.

Mrs. Foxcroft, speaking from first-hand knowledge said, as quoted by the *Lynn Item*:

"Things are getting done by men's votes, backed by woman's influence. As matters now stand, it is good women only who have much influence. With the ballot the woman of low ideals would have an influence which she has never had before, and the politician would be on hand to see it was exerted.

"Gains for temperance are coming fast by men's votes. National prohibition is predicted by many temperance workers within the next five years. But, until last fall, not a single woman suffrage State had found its way into the prohibitory column—except Kansas, which had prohibition long before it had woman suffrage—though there were eleven male suffrage States there.

"Sanitary legislation is being enacted almost faster than the public will conform to it. An expert in child labor predicts that the next ten years will see that abuse at an end. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, one of the pioneer Suffragists, believed that we could not free the slaves without woman's vote. The Suffragists of to-day will be proved wrong in their gloomy predictions just as she has been. Legislation will be improved in the future, as it has been in the past, by men's votes, and we shall be able to conserve women's energies for lines of effort in which they are more effective. In seeking so to conserve them, Anti-Suffragists believe they are working for the benefit of every class in the community and are in harmony with the truest democracy. They have the fullest confidence in the justice of their cause, and look forward to more splendid victories in the future.

"Anti-Suffragists believe that woman is to continue to be the domestic partner of man; that it is better for industry that she should continue so, and better for men, women and children; and that, in the division of labor, which practical partnership involves, the responsibilities of the ballot box fall to man's share. Eighty per cent. of the women in the United States over twenty are married. They spend the best

years of their lives in training the next generation. This is the most effective service they can render to the State, and it is fittingly recognized by their exemption from political responsibilities, as they are also exempted by law from the responsibility of household maintenance.

"Anti-Suffragists see no indignity to womanhood in a division of responsibilities along the lines of sex. Nor do they see anything 'undemocratic.' Our democracy recognizes that rich and poor, ignorant and intelligent, native-born and foreigner, may have clashing interests, and it gives to each group the ballot to safeguard its own. But the interests of men and women do not clash, and their relations are so close that the men of each group may truly be said to represent the women of that group. Most women not only acquiesce in, but heartily approve, such a representation. They think voting a 'man's job,' and they are glad to have men do it.

"The attitude of many leading Suffragists toward domestic life does not promise well for the next generation. They constantly speak of it with contempt and bitterness; they are continually trying to prove other lines of work better adapted to women. 'The woman should be in the home as much as the man is, no more,' says Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman. 'There is rising revolt among women against the unspeakable dullness of unvaried home life,' says Edna Kenton; 'it has been a long, deadly routine, a life-servitude imposed on her for ages in a man-made world.' Miss Henrietta Rodman—a wife who prefers to retain her unmarried name and title—told a *Boston Herald* reporter, last January, that 'a home is just as demoralizing a place to stay in all day as a bed,' and that the ideal apartment house, with its co-operative nursery on the top floor, to enable mothers to leave their homes as regularly as fathers, would have been built before this, in New York, but for the recent stringency in the money market. In it, women are to be relieved of the 'four primitive industries—care of houses, clothes, food and children'—by 'experts.'

"Dr. Anna Shaw, national president of the Suffragists, is so impressed with the hardships of a married woman's lot, that she says: 'I would fix a fortnight's furlough every two months, and I think that this should be every woman's due.' With a quarter of her time in furloughs, no wonder the Suffragists think a mother would have time to become a voter."

Suffragists' Work Helped Defeat Cause

(From the *Cambridge Standard*, Nov. 3.)

TO the Editor:

The glorious victory of the anti-suffrage cause in the great States of New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and New Jersey, which contain nearly one-quarter of the population of the United States, is a blow to woman suffrage from which it is not likely to recover. The Suffragists declare they will set immediately to work again, but it is an interesting fact that their work is a large factor in their own defeat. Their parade lost them many votes. Their women selling the *Boston American* on street corners lost them thousands of votes. Their courting of the liquor interests hurt them greatly. Their constant hectoring of the men and the development of hoodlumism among their young girl converts has hurt them seriously. The continuation of their work will only insure them a bigger defeat next time.

They were defeated in 1895 by 100,000. After twenty years of hard work and the expenditure of many thousand dollars they are defeated by 132,000. At this rate of progress how long will it be before suffrage wins in Massachusetts?

Suffragists say disdainfully that the Eastern States are too "conservative" to endorse suffrage. It is not "conservatism" which led the East to reject Populism and free silver—it was sense. Instead of "conservatism" it is a most alert and wide-awake readiness to learn by and avoid other people's mistakes which leads the East to reject woman suffrage. The West finds that suffrage is costly, is obnoxious to the majority of women, lessens the respect in which women are held, has a tendency to deprive them of the privileges civilization has brought them, and accomplishes nothing which men alone cannot easily accomplish. Why should the East adopt it? But the Suffragists, like the Bourbons, learn nothing by experience. Sixty years ago their leaders told them woman suffrage would have only beneficial effects on the community and on women, and they accepted his judgment and still cling to it in spite of all proof to the contrary. But the public is not blind, and is not likely again to be caught napping as it was in California. The Suffragists admit that their defeat in 1895 put back their cause thirty years. The present overwhelming victory for their opponents has made woman suffrage a lost cause.

MARGARET C. ROBINSON.

HOW THE CAMPAIGN WAS CARRIED TO SUCCESS

IN MASSACHUSETTS

THE campaign recently closed in Massachusetts, which resulted in an overwhelming defeat for the Suffragists, proves beyond doubt the great value to the anti-suffrage cause of preparedness. The foundations of this victory were laid twenty years ago when, after the defeat of the suffrage referendum in 1895, a little group of women, realizing that the women of Massachusetts must be aroused to the importance of this question to themselves and to the State, began at once their campaign of education. Very quietly and in a small way they worked, meeting with great indifference and lethargy at first, on the part of many women who could not believe there was the slightest danger of woman suffrage winning in Massachusetts. But their work told, and they gradually drew to their banner greater and greater numbers of women who felt that in working for anti-suffrage they were performing a patriotic duty. They have formed branches in many towns and cities throughout the State, and each branch has proved a center of influence in the campaign. One of the greatest sources of power in our campaign work was the men's anti-suffrage committee, made up of able men of wide experience in public life, who worked unremittingly during the last months to defeat suffrage. These men managed the political side of the campaign while the woman's associations continued its educational work. The men's and the women's committees were constantly in communication, each profiting by the advice and experience of the other. Directing the work of both, was our able counsel, Mr. Robert N. Turner. The association owes him a great debt for his splendid work and devotion to the cause.

Effective press work was undoubtedly a source of great influence. Mr. George R. Conroy, the press agent for the State, sent out most telling and timely matter to the press every week. The Cambridge branch, as one of its many contributions to the work, financed the Anti-Suffrage Notes, edited by Mrs. B. L. Robinson. These notes, intended in the beginning for local use, gradually reached a wider and wider public, until they were in demand not only all over the State, but all over the country. The two admirable campaign copies of the "Remonstrance" were a most valuable part of the campaign literature.

Mrs. A. J. George, Mrs. H. P. White, Mrs. Thomas Allen, Mrs. Frank Foxcroft, Mrs. W. W. Churchill, Miss Edith Melvin, and Dr. Ernest Bernbaum, of Harvard University, had for months been doing brilliant work in speaking for our cause.

During the last weeks of the campaign many other able speakers came to the front, and Miss Marjorie Dorman, loaned by New York, did yeoman service in speaking throughout the State. The Massachusetts verdict was that she is a genius in handling an audience. During the last weeks of the campaign Miss Emily P. Bissel of Delaware spoke ably and convincingly to many audiences. There were 130 indoor meetings in October.

The men's committee sent speakers during October on an automobile tour of the State, thereby reaching many street audiences that the regular speakers in halls had not reached. Col. Irish, of California, made many speeches during the campaign, explaining the evil effects of woman suffrage in California. He drew large and enthusiastic audiences.

The county fairs offered a great field for our propaganda. At almost every fair in the State—about forty in all—there was an Anti-suffrage booth, where womanly women distributed literature and gave information to those who desired it. At least 250,000 leaflets were distributed and the work bore much fruit.

Shops were opened in a good many cities for the giving out of literature, roses, buttons, etc.; windows for the exhibition of placards were maintained in many places, big signs conveying anti-suffrage propaganda were erected in subways, on crowded thoroughfares, on popular boulevards, etc. A tremendous amount of work was done by quiet, home-loving women in talking to the men with whom they came in contact in their daily life—the market man, the postman, the ashman, etc.—and showing him the force of our position. There was no luck or accident behind the majority of 132,000 in Massachusetts—it was the result of hard work, and of preparedness.

IN NEW JERSEY

IN speaking at the great mass meeting which packed Carnegie Hall and marked the climax of New York's anti-suffrage campaign, the Hon. John A. Matthews of New Jersey said: "The defeat of suffrage in New Jersey was due to the fact that the average man's wife and daughter made it evident to the average man that they did not want the vote."

The following editorial comments from the *Paterson* (N. J.) *Evening News* of October 20th give the details of the defeat which other papers term "A Waterloo":

"Votes for women met signal defeat yesterday in this State and the verdict was so overwhelming, both as regards the initial issue and the referendum providing for sub-

mitting the question to the votes again within a year, that there can be absolutely no doubt of the fact that the majority of the voters of the State do not favor giving the women the right to vote.

"The interest in the issue was evidenced by the exceptionally heavy vote cast throughout the State and the total will run over 300,000, which is phenomenal at a special election.

"There can be no doubt of the decisive sentiment against the enfranchisement of women among the voters. Every county in the State, except one, went solidly against the Constitutional amendment, some with towering majorities. The only exception was Ocean County, where the suffrage amendment has received a majority of 210.

"Essex County, where the two organizations composed of women contending for the enfranchisement of their sex had conducted a tremendous campaign for the last six months, went against the suffrage amendment by a majority which is estimated by the Secretary of State at 15,000. This is one of the largest in the history of that county, and certainly the largest in proportion to the total vote cast in any election ever held in New Jersey.

"The vote that was polled for and against the amendment surprised the political leaders, who declared it was out of all proportion to the vote usually cast in a special election. That was particularly true in such industrial centers as Newark, Paterson, Elizabeth and Camden.

"The advocates of the suffrage cause were bitterly disappointed over the outcome in this city, where they had expected a heavy vote from the workers in the silk mills."

Another Paterson daily, *The Guardian*, looking beneath the returns for the causes, says, editorially:

"There seems to be but one conclusion to draw from yesterday's election. A big majority of the men of the State were simply opposed to the idea of women voting and they were actuated in their stand by thoughtful and honorable motives. The men who voted against woman suffrage, taken as a whole, were not the "woman haters" or the unchivalrous. They were the men who love their mothers, their wives and their daughters and who revere womanhood as a composite element of life. They were the men who know the impotency of the ballot as a means of bringing about great world achievements, and knowing this they could not see the wisdom of thrusting the vote upon women and thereby opening up still wider the avenues that would lead them into public life and activity and into more promiscuous contact with the outside world with all its possi-

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bilities for contamination. The men who voted against the measure had been told that women would elevate the general structure of life if they were permitted to have a part in that life. Evidently, however, the men did not believe it."

The Newark News bitterly resents the Suffragists' cry of "Fraud." It said, editorially, on the day after the special election was held:

"From reading some New York newspapers one would gather the impression that fraud and intimidation were rampant in Newark yesterday, and that to these was due the heavy anti-suffrage majority. For these charges there is not the slightest excuse. No election ever held in this city was freer from illegal practices. It is natural for the beaten side to set up the cry of unfair methods on the part of the opposition, but in the present instance it has not the basis of truth. It is unfair that the city of Newark should be thus libeled throughout the country because some disappointed suffrage leaders, in the bitterness of defeat, seek to minimize the size of the disaster and the unpopularity of their cause by allegations of fraud that have no existence outside their superheated imaginations."

Most of the newspapers of New Jersey predicted that the defeat in that State forecasted defeat in the other Eastern States, and there is no doubt that the overwhelming majority against suffrage had its influence upon the States which voted a fortnight later.

IN NEW YORK

A RETROSPECT is of chief value for comparing causes and effects and the anti-suffrage campaign in New York State brings out one fact more prominently than any other, that is, the value of organization. In every section of the State where an organized auxiliary carried on work the voters realized that the great majority of the women were opposed to having the vote thrust upon them and carried out the desires of the women in their vote on the suffrage amendment. Where there was no auxiliary the voters in many instances assumed that they were carrying out the wishes of the women and so the vote for suffrage in those sections was larger in proportion than it would otherwise have been.

While the official figures will not be completed until December, the unofficial reports indicate that in all but five counties of the State there was a majority against suffrage and that the total majority against suffrage in New York State will be approximately 190,000.

Brooklyn stands out as the banner city and Kings County, which embraces Brooklyn, as the banner county. Every election district in Brooklyn gave a majority against suffrage. The work of the Brooklyn auxiliary was most carefully organized and skilfully carried out. Meetings were held in every election district and in many of them a number of meetings were held. The club houses of the political organizations were invaded by speakers whenever possible, labor unions, fraternal orders, civic bodies, were all reached with literature and speakers. Annexes were opened in various sections of the city where evening meetings were held and literature distributed.

Westchester county was for years a suffrage stronghold. An organizer was put at work there during the summer, outdoor and indoor meetings were held, literature distributed, committees organized in Scarsdale, Yonkers, White Plains, Bronxville, Mount Vernon, Tarrytown, Port Chester, Mamaroneck, Rye and New Rochelle. As a result of these activities Westchester county gave a majority of about 4,500 against suffrage.

Albany has the oldest anti-suffrage auxiliary in the State. The work of the women there was very ably supplemented by that of the men. From the mass meeting held in the Assembly Chamber of the Capitol in February up to the election, the interest and activities of those opposing suffrage never flagged for one minute. Thousands of pieces of literature were sent to the individual voters by mail, meetings were held throughout the city and county and that the voters were brought to a true realization of the desires of the women was evidenced by a vote of two to one against suffrage in Albany county.

Buffalo was another city in which most effective work was carried on. The work there was conducted along slightly different lines, as the voters were of a different type. The men were reached at their work. Noon meetings were held at the large manufacturing plants, at the railroad shops and the iron steel mills. Erie county gave a majority against suffrage of over 9,000.

Rensselaer county was taken care of by the auxiliary at Troy. Both Troy and the country districts gave substantial majorities against suffrage. About 15,000 votes were cast on the amendment and the majority in the county against suffrage was about 4,000. Every ward in Troy turned in a majority against the proposition, and but three election districts returned a favorable majority. In one town in Rensselaer county the Suffragists had held undisputed sway, but even there they

were unable to secure a majority in favor of the amendment.

One of the most vigorous suffrage campaigns carried on in New York State was that in Delaware county. Not only did the county go against suffrage, but the town of Delhi, where the chief suffrage worker lived, went on record against the proposition.

These are only a few of the counties in which special work was done and which stand out as showing the results of that work.

While many of the other sections of the State did as well, and in some instances even better than those mentioned, the details of the results have not yet been received, so no specific mention is made of them.

Along the lines of general publicity the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was forced to work with a press that was seventy-five per cent. antagonistic. Many of the newspapers of the State flatly refused to handle any anti-suffrage news whatever, while devoting columns to the activities of the Suffragists. A poll of the editors of the country was made by the *Literary Digest* and of the replies received 391 declared in favor and only 97 against. Almost this same proportion was maintained in New York State. It was even larger in New York City, where the only papers that took an editorial stand against suffrage were the *Times* and the *Journal of Commerce*. The *Sun* was somewhat uncertain and the *Herald* neutral, but with these exceptions the local press was outspoken in favor. This position was maintained not only in the editorial columns, but in the news columns and even in the cartoons. One paper, the *Tribune*, went so far as to refuse the anti-suffrage pre-election advertising. Another, the *Journal*, while displaying the most vicious animosity in its editorial columns, very gladly accepted the paid advertisement. In the face of this opposition, Greater New York gave a majority against suffrage of about 90,000.

In looking for the causes that resulted in such satisfactory majorities against suffrage in the country districts, two of the methods used stand out prominently, viz., the work at the county fairs and the debates on the Chautauqua Circuit.

Work at the county fairs included the erection of booths for the distribution of literature, buttons, etc., the securing of signatures of those interested in anti-suffrage work and speaking where possible from the grand stands. This work was under the direction of Miss Clara Markeson and Miss Margaret C. Uhl, and forty-five fairs in all were covered. The local organizations, of course, assisted in this work in every pos-

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(Continued from page 15)

sible way, keeping large committees at work on the fair grounds and arranging the details of the booths, tents or other headquarters.

On the Chautauqua circuit, Miss Lucy Price carried on a series of debates with Miss Helen Todd. The success of this method of reaching the country voters was most plainly evidenced by the test votes taken at the first fifteen of these debates. In eleven out of these fifteen the majority of the men voted against suffrage and in the other four the majority for suffrage was very small.

One of the most significant facts brought out in the campaign is that the vote is not what is really sought by many of the women who are most prominent among the suffrage agitators. The publicity and notoriety connected with seeking the vote seems to be the real source of support. In the issue of Saturday, November 6th, the *Sea Cliff News* of Sea Cliff, Long Island, said:

"It would be just as well for those who believe in woman suffrage to face the results of Tuesday's elections and draw therefrom a few facts upon which to base their next work. * * *

"There were probably thirty women at the suffrage headquarters during the day, many of them spent hours soliciting votes on the streets from men on the way to vote, and yet only eight women in the village cared enough about voting to cast a ballot upon appropriations of town money to the amount of \$28,500. To gabble about the injustice of 'taxation without representation' and then fail to vote on such a matter is not convincing to the male electorate, * * *

"Sea Cliff is an ideal field for suffrage workers. It has a native electorate of unusual intelligence. They could have been convinced that woman suffrage was a desirable thing by even slightly intelligent methods. 'Orders came from the bosses to down the women' has a comforting sound to the defeated ones, but Sea Cliff men would be very quick to reject the wisdom of their party leaders if the local Suffragists had shown any real interest in voting; had convinced anyone even themselves, that they wanted to vote; or had shown that they had anything more than 'glittering platitudes with which to approach the problems of the day. The ballot will never give woman's opinions attention or respect unless they are merited. The ballot does not carry with it the necessary mental stamina to use it intelligently. * * *

In spite of the splendid majority in New York against woman suffrage, we realize that our work is not yet finished. We must continue our campaign of education until

a still larger majority of the voters come to a realization that woman's right is indeed the right to be exempt from political responsibilities because she can render better service to the State in other ways.

IN PENNSYLVANIA

THE defeat of woman suffrage in Pennsylvania by about 60,000 majority was a great victory for the women opposed to this suffrage, who have been fighting against big odds.

The Suffragists have been well organized in Pennsylvania for over sixty years, and as early as 1854 held conventions in West Chester and Philadelphia that were as well attended as their so-called jubilee celebration on the 3d of November, 1915.

They have long controlled the policy of many newspapers, which not only exploited the suffrage cause to the limit of their ability, but which circulated any fake story the Suffragists desired to have published. It was useless to remonstrate with the editors of such papers, and as useless to ask them to publish one line of news about the Antis, but toward the end of the campaign the public became aware of their gross misrepresentation of our women.

Several incidents will show how these organs were used. A few months ago an organizer for the National Anti-Suffrage Association who visited Pennsylvania was asked in an open letter, signed by three prominent suffrage leaders, to state her connection with the liquor interests. She replied promptly. The President of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, and the acting President of the Pennsylvania Association also answered the accusation. The editor who had published the attack, which invited a reply, would not allow any answer to be published in his columns, although at one time he told one of our representatives that he might publish a reply if we paid advertising rates for it. The reply was finally published in other newspapers, and it is gratifying to know that this county, a "dry" one, went strongly against votes for women, as did other dry counties.

The most stupid attack made by the Suffragists was against the State President, Mrs. Horace Brock, by a Socialist at a labor picnic at Wilkes-Barre and repeated by another Socialist in Mrs. Brock's home town, where her family have lived for generations. The indignation aroused by this is expressed in the following letter, which is one of many sent to the local papers:

"When a Chicago socialistic haranguer appeared on one of the city streets several weeks ago and delivered a ranting dis-

course on Votes for Women, her vile insinuations against Mrs. Horace Brock were passed over with other socialistic vaporings, with what charity her audience could command. Those present were too genteel to insult a guest of the city, even though she did commit the unspeakable offense of presuming upon her sex the status as a guest to speak disrespectfully of one of the city's leading citizens. The impressive silence which followed the utterance, which was meant to be humorous, showed how little sympathy there was in the audience for her sentiments. That was rebuke enough for the occasion, but now some person, with even less grace than this preacher of class-hatred, adds to the insult by having the same nasty untruths published in a Philadelphia newspaper—the only one, of course, which would stoop to publish such scurrilous statements.

* * *

"The Suffragist agitators who hope to make capital by slandering Mrs. Brock show a lack of good sense and judgment which does little credit to their intelligence, for it has lost votes for the cause rather than gained any. The very nature of such foul tactics demonstrates the unfitness of some women to exercise the franchise, for in her opposition to votes for women, Mrs. Brock has ever been genteel and has granted to her opponents the highest respect. The published abuse of her is the vilest kind of a slander, and is a blot upon the city upon which she has lavished so much benevolent and sincere attention."

(Signed) FAIR PLAY.

The Anti-Suffragists were perpetually accused of being linked with both the liquor interests and the "gang."

The fact that 86,000 men in Philadelphia alone who voted for Mayor did not vote on the first amendment, shows no "instructions" were given. In fact, the politicians were neutral on the issue and the Suffragists claimed that several of the leaders and all the candidates for office were in favor of votes for women. The politicians were interested in passing amendment number two. The wage-earners were vitally interested in amendment number three (The Workmen's Compensation Act). The ballot was large and complicated and the ignorant man, and the foreigner who could not read well, voted yes on all the amendments fearing to make a mistake and not mark "yes" on the right one. Yet in the Buckeye State that defeated this amendment by a majority of over 187,000, woman suffrage got 350,000 votes out of an electorate of 1,500,000. In the Keystone State, they only got 320,000 votes out of an electorate of 2,500,000.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The Women's Auxiliary to the Saloon-keepers' league claims to be the largest women's club in Chicago.

A woman boss in Chicago delivered 300 women's votes, last year, for that notorious grafter, Bathhouse John, whom a club of 200 women unanimously endorsed as "a good family man, who has always used his best endeavor to serve the people of his ward."

(From *Wilkesbarre* (Pa.) *Leader*, Nov. 4)

Chicago, November 4.—Beardstown and Mounds, the two wet towns of eleven in Illinois where local option elections were held, voted to continue wet. The women's vote proved a surprise to the anti-saloon forces, in Beardstown at least, piling up a large majority in favor of saloons.

Of nine dry towns, two, Percy and Wilkesville, voted to let saloons return.

On the day of the "Victory" parade, two ladies who were walking on Huntington Avenue had their red roses torn off of them by a Suffragist, the dress of one of them being torn also.

Where is the uplift in a movement which encourages such hoodlumism among its followers?

A lady went into Anti-Suffrage headquarters in Boston recently to get some anti-suffrage badges for her daughter, a student at Radcliffe. She said: "My daughter has had several of these, but the Suffragists at college grab them off her and throw them away."

A Suffragist tore a rose from the coat of a young Anti in Massachusetts the other day, threw it on the ground and stamped on it. The Anti, being an athletic young lady, took the offender by the arm, marched her into a nearby doorway, read her a lecture on the error of her ways, then calmly said: "Now, if you don't want trouble you will come and buy me a rose to take the place of the one you destroyed," and the Suffragist obeyed orders, probably realizing that if her case was taken to the police court just before election it would hardly help her cause.

At the fair at Mechanic's Hall in Boston the last week before election women from the suffrage booth made such a disturbance at the Anti-Suffrage booth that the police had to be called in. The manager of the fair, who had been a Suffragist, was so incensed at the behavior of the young "ladies" at the suffrage booth that he read them the riot act, and one of them came to the Anti booth and apologized.

We are glad to publish the following from a letter regarding a statement attributed to the Rev. Mr. Ford, of Dover, Mass., which was quoted in *THE PROTEST*:

"Mr. Ford absolutely denies having said this thing (that all Anti-Suffragists were 'drawn from three sources, liquor interests, white slavers and wealthy women'), though he acknowledges having spoken of us as wealthy and conservative women. He says that this report was in the *New York Herald*, but he paid no attention to it."

CHICAGO, November 5.—A "motherhood strike" has been begun by some women of non-suffrage States and may be adopted by others until they are given the franchise by their voting brothers, if a suggestion of Mrs. Sara Bard Field made yesterday after her arrival in Chicago en route from San Francisco to Washington is further acted upon.

"I know of certain women in non-suffrage States who have denied themselves the privilege of motherhood until they receive the vote," declared Mrs. Field. "And I do not blame them. It is a wonderful thing to have companionship of children, as I know well in my own boy and girl, who are the joys of my life. But the cause of suffrage has led many a woman to make tremendous sacrifices."

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MRS. ARTHUR M. DODGE.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 18th day of October, 1915.

CHAS. EDGAR, Notary Public.

Commission expires March 30, 1916.

SEVERAL suffrage leaflets made their appearance during the campaign listing organizations reported as having "endorsed suffrage."

When one inquires further he finds that not one of these organizations has ever put woman suffrage to popular vote among its members.

A notable gathering of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections was seized upon by the Suffragists as one that "should endorse suffrage." Consequently Suffragists contended that the conference had done so, until the Antis compelled a withdrawal of the erroneous claim.

In a letter to the *Boston Herald* regarding an eleventh-hour suffrage pamphlet, Margaret C. Robinson writes:

"A whole page of this suffrage pamphlet is devoted to a list of organizations which have endorsed woman suffrage. Not one of these organizations has ever put woman suffrage to popular vote among its members. In the list is given the Massachusetts Federation of Women's Clubs. The Federation has a membership of 65,000. The so-called endorsement was made by 203 women who were not instructed delegates. The list includes also the International Council of Women. The question has never even been presented to the American division of this association. The National grange is also on the list. The Massachusetts grange, it is well to remember, has refused to endorse woman suffrage. The American Federation of Labor is also on the list. The New Jersey and Minnesota Federations of Labor have recently voted overwhelmingly against suffrage, as have several labor unions in Massachusetts. All the other associations similarly include countless members who are opposed to woman suffrage. When one knows a few such facts, the list ceases to be convincing."

(From a Newspaper Editorial.)

The Suffragists make the characteristically modest claim that if heads had been weighed, not counted, in New Jersey, their cause would have won! Is it possible that the men who voted for it were ALL boneheads? Will they make the same claim regarding Massachusetts and New York? So far as BRAINS are concerned, the Antis are willing to pit Elihu Root, Henry Stimson, Secretary Lansing, George Wickersham, James M. Beck, Senator Weeks, Senator Lodge, Ex-President Elliot and President Lowell against all comers.

THE NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE FOUNDED 1895

Printed matter can be secured by application to the Secretary at the office of the Association, 37 West 39th Street, New York City.
Complete set, 50 cts. Single copies, 5 cts.
Selected packages, 25 cts.

PAMPHLETS

NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Should We Ask for the Suffrage? *Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer*
Woman's Relation to Government *Mrs. Wm. F. Scott*
The Blank Cartridge Ballot *Rossiter Johnson*
Address (Made before Constitutional Convention, 1894) *Hon. Elihu Root*
Taxation and Suffrage *Frederick Dwight*
Woman and the Law *Francis M. Scott*
First Legislative Address *Mrs. Francis M. Scott*
The Woman Suffrage Crisis
(Editorial, *New York Times*, February 8, 1915)
Suffragists Desert Philanthropy, etc.
Woman Suffrage and the Equal Guardianship Law
Dodgers

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Woman Suffrage Opposed to Woman's Rights *Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge*
The Case Against Votes for Women *Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge*
The Militant and the Child *Mrs. F. M. Scott*
Woman's Rights vs. Woman's Suffrage *Mrs. A. J. George*
Equality of Suffrage Means the Debasement, etc. *John R. Dos Passos*
Woman Suffrage and Child Labor Legislation *Minnie Bronson*
Wage-Earning Woman and the State *Minnie Bronson*
The Relation of the Sexes to Government *Prof. Edward Cope*
A Talk to Women on the Suffrage Question *Miss Emily P. Bissell*
Should Women Vote? *Joseph Gilpin Pyle*
Xanthippe on Woman Suffrage *Reprint from Yale Review*
Feminism and Socialism *Reprint from Unpopular Review*
Dodgers—Statistics
Silk Pins.....10c. each Ribbon.....10c. and 15c. a yard
Celluloid Buttons.....5c. Pennants.....15c. and 25c.
New Poster Stamps.....35c. a hundred
Cartoon—Population Votes.....50c.
New Song—The Anti-Suffrage Rose.....10c.

NEW YORK STATE MEN'S ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO POLITICAL SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN

27 William Street Room 1903 New York City
Brief before Rules Committee, Washington, D. C., Dec. 4, 1913
Everett P. Wheeler
Questionnaire
Women and The Vote *Everett P. Wheeler*
Feminist Principle Biologically Unsound *Prof. William I. Sedgwick*

The Woman and the Vote
(Address Carnegie Hall, January 26, 1914) *Everett P. Wheeler*
Feminist Revolutionary Principle Biologically Unsound
Professor William T. Sedgwick
Brief Submitted to House of Representatives, July, 1914
Everett P. Wheeler

Colorado and Suffrage
Consent of the Governed *John C. Ten Eyck*
Brief on Woman Suffrage; Political Suffrage for Women Sub-
versive of American Ideals *Professor Munroe Smith*
The Laws of New York Favor and Protect Woman
What Women Have Done Without the Ballot *Raymond B. Seymour, of the New York Bar*
(Republished by Permission from *The Reply*) *Everett P. Wheeler*

Suffrage Map of the United States.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR READING

Woman Adrift (\$1.50) *Harold Owen*
The Nature of Woman (\$1.25) *J. Lionel Tayler*
Vocation of Woman (\$1.50) *Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun*
The Business of Being a Woman (\$1.50) *Ida Tarbell*
The Unexpurgated Case Against Woman Suffrage (\$1.00)
Sir Almoth Wright
The Ladies' Battle (\$1.00) *Molly Elliott Seawell*
Book of Woman's Power (\$1.25) *E. S. Martin*
The Unrest of Women (\$1.00)
Votes for Men (50c.) *Grace Duffield Goodwin*
Anti-Suffrage: Ten Good Reasons (50c.) *Mrs. Rossiter Johnson*
Woman and the Republic (25c.)

These can be obtained by applying to

THE WOMAN'S PROTEST

The Remonstrance.....Subscription, 25c.
687 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.

Some pamphlets issued by the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women:
Some of the Reasons Against Woman Suffrage *Francis Parkman*
Argument before U. S. Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage *Mrs. A. J. George*

Of What Benefit to Woman?
Why I Am Opposed to Woman Suffrage *Jeannette L. Gilder*
Letter to Legislative Committee *Mrs. Clara T. Leonard*
Municipal Suffrage for Women—Why? *Frank Foxcroft*
Taxpaying Suffrage *Charles R. Saunders*
Rights and Exemptions Given by Massachusetts Law to Women
and not to Men
Opinions of Eminent Persons Against Woman Suffrage
Woman's Power and Woman Suffrage *Ida M. Tarbell*
Woman Suffrage in Practice—An Answer to George Creel
Address in Opposition to Woman Suffrage *Mrs. George A. Caswell*

Anti-Suffrage Manual (15c. a copy) *Mrs. Albert T. Leatherbee*

Pamphlets and Leaflets may be obtained
from the Secretary of the Association,
KENSINGTON BUILDING, Room 615

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